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part of Japan by entering from the north, and who were gradually heading southward.

Whatever these raisonnements and speculations, or our divergence of opinion, may be, the author's tendency to theorize is redeemed by his solid fund of new data for which we have every reason to be grateful to him. Credit is also due to the University of Tokyo for supporting his researches and bringing them out in so excellent a form. The illustrative material is abundant, and the fine execution of the plates leaves nothing to be desired.

B. LAUFER

*Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur.* GABRIEL FERRAND. (*Extrait du Journal asiatique*, Paris, 1918.) 202 p.

The traditional opinion hitherto maintained (so much of our scientific baggage rests merely on tradition) was that the city of Malaka was founded in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. This never was satisfactory to me. The problem is one of importance, for Malaka forms one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of Malayan enterprise and colonization; for centuries it was the Alexandria of the Far East and a transit-mart uniting East and West;<sup>1</sup> and there are several culture-historical questions which pivot around the date of the foundation of Malaka. Monsieur Ferrand, Consul General of France (until a few years ago in New Orleans), stands in the foreground of Malayan scholars, and commands a unique knowledge of Malayan and other Oriental languages, coupled with a long and wide experience of Madagascar and almost all parts of the globe. While the main object of his present publication is to solve the mystery of Malaka, the treatment of the subject is so thorough and circumstantial that it grows into a fundamental contribution to early Malayan history. He gives a long and almost complete series of Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, and Dutch texts relating to the ancient history of Malaka, and has provided them with an elaborate and illuminating commentary. His study belongs to the class of those aptly characterized by the French as "bien documenté" and "très nourri." We are especially indebted to the author for laying before us in an unabridged form the lengthy accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers—d'Albuquerque, de Barros, Correa, de Couto, de Eredia, and

<sup>1</sup> Varthema, who visited Malaka about 1505, says, "Truly I believe that more ships arrive here than at any place in the world." About a century later, François Pyrard speaks of the city as "the key and staple of the trade of China, Japan, the Moluccas, and other islands in the neighborhood of Sunda," and characterizes it as "the richest and busiest town in all the Indies after Goa and Ormus."

Castanheda, whose works (at least in this country) are all difficult to obtain; and not only those interested in the history of the Malaysans, but also the students of Malayan folklore should be strongly advised to read these interesting documents. Duarte Barbosa is cited after the translation by Stanley made from a Spanish manuscript and not very accurately; the new translation by M. L. Dames on the basis of the Portuguese original, the first volume of which has just been issued by the Hakluyt Society, is preferable.

A cogent date for the foundation of Malaka does not immediately result from any document at our disposal. The Portuguese writers who lived in India are at variance with one another, their dates going as far apart as the eighth and fourteenth centuries. The date 1253 given in the Malayan chronicle *Sedjarah Malāyu* (written in 1612) seems to be the most reasonable, and this is also the one adopted by the Hollander Valentyn (cf. Blundell, *Notices of the History and Present Condition of Malakka*, in Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iv, 1850, p. 750). In order to arrive at a more satisfactory solution of the problem, M. Ferrand studies at close range what is known of the Malayan settlements named "Malāyu," one of which was situated on Sumatra, and the other on Malaka. The earliest authentic mention of Malāyu, from which our word "Malay, Malayan" is derived, is due to the Chinese, and occurs in the History of the T'ang Dynasty under the year A.D. 644 or 645, when the country Mo-lo-yu (anciently Mwa-la-yu) sent an envoy to China with a tribute of local products; this was Malāyu on the east coast of Sumatra. Only as late as the end of the thirteenth century, under the Yüan or Mongol dynasty, we read again of Mo-lo-yu in the Chinese Annals, which in one case employ also the transcription Ma-li-yü'r. The final *r* cannot yet be reasonably explained; but it is not accidental, as we have Malaiur in Marco Polo and in several Arabic records. M. Ferrand demonstrates and decisively with great acumen that the Mo-lo-yu and Ma-li-yu'r of the Yüan Annals and the Malaiur, visited about 1293 and briefly described by Marco Polo as "a fine and noble city" are identical, and occupied the same site as the city of Malaka. The struggles of Malāyu with Siam are reported in the Yüan Annals in the same manner as in the Commentaries of Albuquerque, who speaks of the Malaiois of Malaka. Thus M. Ferrand concludes that Malayur existed during the thirteenth century as a flourishing centre of trade, where, as Marco Polo says, all kinds of spicery and all other necessities of life were to be found, and that it was the predecessor of the place subsequently styled Malaka. He further holds that Correa's

date which assigns the foundation of the city to the eighth century is not improbable. He accepts the etymology deriving the name from Sanskrit *āmalaka* ("myrobalan," Malayan *malāka*, Javanese *malaka*)<sup>1</sup>—many other toponymies in the Malayan domain are traceable to botanical terms,—refers to the early Indian colonization of the Peninsula, and is inclined to assume that the Indo-Malayan name was conferred upon the city by foreigners coming from India, who were the founders of this emporium for maritime commerce.

Finally, M. Ferrand believes he is justified in discovering the name *Malāyu* in a Chinese record of the fifth century, with reference to an event placed in the year A.D. 43. The celebrated General Ma Yüan (14 B.C.—A.D. 49), who quelled a serious uprising in Tonking against Chinese rule, is said to have erected in A.D. 43 two copper columns at the southern frontier of Sianglin (in Indo-China, near Cape Varella) to mark the boundary of Chinese territory against the barbarians. M. Ferrand seizes upon a passage of the *Lin-yi ki*, which says, "The natives who lived there, styled those left behind by him Ma-liu [that is, 'me; transported or left behind by Ma,' the family-name of Ma Yüan]; they called themselves from generation to generation descendants of the Han [that is, Chinese]." The common explanation of *Malāyu* is "fugitive, exile"; and the author sees a strong analogy to this tradition in the expatriated soldiers of Ma Yüan's garrison. Thus he arrives at regarding Ma-liu as a Chinese transcription of the name "*Malayu*"; and if this interpretation is correct, he concludes, an important Malayan group was settled in the environment of Cape Varella toward the beginning of our era. It must be admitted that this rapprochement is ingenious, and I wish I were in a position to confirm it. One of the objections to be raised to this conjecture, the author has recognized himself by observing that the name "*Malāyu*," when it first became known to the Chinese toward the middle of the seventh century, and also at later times, is rendered by the three syllables *Mo-lo-yu*, and never by two syllables; but this objection, in his opinion, is not decisive, as the foreign element *-lāyu* could be well represented in Chinese by the element *liu*. The present Chinese diphthongs terminating in a labial vowel are evolved from *-v* (and *-v*, as a rule, has sprung from *-b*): thus *pao* is issued from \**pav*, and *liu* from \**liv*. \**Ma-liv*, in my estimation, could not have been employed for the transcription of *Malāyu*. Chinese tradition, moreover, does not speak of a foreign tribe left by Ma Yüan for

<sup>1</sup> The correct spelling therefore is *Malaka*; there is no justification for writing *Malacca* or *Malakka*.

the defence of the empire's southern frontier; what the general left there, naturally was a garrison of Chinese soldiers, and this is the usual conception of the event (cf. Hirth, *T'oung Pao*, vol. 1, 1890, p. 138; and *Bronzetrommeln*, p. 52). These Chinese soldiers and their descendants intermarried with native women, and thus developed into a colony of "natives." This is my opinion in the case, but it does not imply that M. Ferrand is wrong, and that I am right. Dogmatism of any sort is detestable, and every problem is debatable from many points of view. I merely wish to make these observations, which seem to me somewhat essential in bearing upon the problem in question, and am perfectly willing to listen with respect to the arguments of others.<sup>1</sup>

There are several interesting appendices, especially one in which the Ghur of the Arabs is identified with Formosa. The entire work is replete with substantial information and novel suggestions which open a wide perspective for future research. I only wish M. Ferrand might also have given us his opinion in regard to the alleged Ptolemaic allusions to Malayan names,—thus Perimula taken for the site of the city of Malaka by L. Contzen (*Die Portugiesen auf Malaka*, p. 4, Bonn, 1906) and the Maleou Kolon, discussed by Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 545) and Gerini.

B. LAUFER

## OCEANIA

*Neu-Caledonien und die Loyalty-Inseln; Reise-Erinnerungen eines Naturforschers.* FRITZ SARASIN. Basel: Georg und Co., 1917. 284 pp. 184 figs., 8 pls., 1 map.

This is the preliminary account of a fifteen months' trip (1911-1912) to one of the least known regions of Oceania. The typography and illus-

<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out also that the authenticity of the above Chinese account is not altogether beyond doubt. As far as I am aware, it is not recorded in the official Han Annals, either in the chapter dealing with the reign of the Emperor Kuang-wu or in the biography of Ma Yüan (*Hou Han shu*, chap. 54). G. E. Gerini (*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 353) holds that the story does not deserve much credit. An entirely new conception of the matter has recently been propounded by H. Maspero (*Bull. de l'Ecole française*, vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 24-26), which cannot be reproduced here *in extenso*. Maspero speaks also of a Chinese colony, but regards the Ma-Yüan tradition as a legend forged in explanation of the name Ma-liu, which he interprets as the transcription of a foreign word, applied by the natives to that Chinese settlement and not understood by the Chinese, who subsequently connected this word with the name of Ma Yüan. This point of view is possible, but would certainly exclude any relation of Ma-liu to Malāyu. The presence of the Malayan Cham in Indo-China, of course, permits us to look for Malayan influences in this region; and the word "Malāyu" is familiar to the Cham (Aymonier and Cabaron, *Dictionnaire cham-français*, pp. 383, 388).